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FROM: BONN

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By HR-17/SG, Date 3/6/91

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Info

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TO: Secretary of State

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ALTHOUGH CHANCELLOR DOES NOT DESIRE AT THIS STAGE TO SPECULATE ON HYPOTHESES REGARDING BERLIN, I BELIEVE GERMAN REACTION TO OUR ACCEPTANCE GDR CONTROL AT CHECKPOINTS WOULD BE WE HAVE STARTED ON SOFT POLICY ALMOST INEVITABLY LEADING TO ULTIMATE RECOGNITION GDR AND QUASI-PERMANENT DIVISION OF GERMANY. AM AWARE HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF GOVERNMENTS, OR DEALING WITH UNRECOGNIZED GOVERNMENTS ON AD HOC BASIS, AND OTHER RELATIONSHIP VARIANTS. HOWEVER, IN THIS CASE, SITUATION IS SO SPECIAL THAT I FEEL IF WE ADOPTED ANY SUCH METHODS OUR PRESTIGE IN GERMANY WOULD BE GRAVELY, EVEN FATALLY, UNDERMINED. I DO NOT SPEAK OF THE REACTIONS TO BE ANTICIPATED ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE, THOUGH I SURMISE THEY WOULD IN LONG RUN BE SIMILAR EVEN THOUGH LESS VIOLENT.

TRIPARTITE PAPER, ALTHOUGH ENVISAGING TRANSFER TO GDR OF CERTAIN FUNCTIONS HITHERTO PERFORMED BY SOVIETS, DID NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT POSSIBILITY SOVIETS WOULD RENOUNCE ALL ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY. WHILE MERE TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS COULD PERHAPS BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT DESTROYING OUR POSITION, IT IS DIFFERENT MATTER IF SOVIETS CHALLENGE US BY ALSO RENOUNCING ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY. BEST OPPORTUNITY UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES TO TAKE EFFECTIVE FIRM STAND IS AT OUTSET. IF ONCE WE YIELD BY ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH GDR, EVEN AT CHECKPOINT LEVEL, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO BUILD GOOD CASE FOR MORE INFLEXIBLE STAND

PERMANENT

AGAINST

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-2- 1105, NOVEMBER 23, 6 PM, FROM BONN.

AGAINST FURTHER DEMANDS. STAGE AT WHICH PUBLIC SUPPORT COULD BE RALLIED IS WHEN SOVIETS OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCE DISCLAIMER OF RESPONSIBILITY, NOT AFTER WE HAVE ACCEPTED TECHNICAL CONTROL BY GDR PERSONNEL AND WE LATER MAKE ISSUE OVER WHETHER WE WILL ACCEPT VISAS, INSPECTION, CURRENCY CONTROLS, ETC.

I FULLY REALIZE DIFFICULTY FINDING ALTERNATIVES TO PRESENT POLICY, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT UNCERTAINTY OVER NEXT SOVIET MOVE. ASSUMING, HOWEVER, ANTICIPATED COMMUNICATION ANNOUNCES THEY TRANSFERRING RESPONSIBILITIES TO GDR AND THAT IT FIXES EITHER IMMEDIATE OR FUTURE DATE FOR TRANSFER, FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS ARE PRESENTED:

1. IMMEDIATE DATE. MILITARY TRAINS AND AUTOBAHN TRAVELLERS SHOULD BE INSTRUCTED TURN BACK RATHER THAN ACCEDE TO ANY FORM CONTROL BY OR DEALINGS WITH GDR OFFICIALS. AIR FORCES SHOULD BE ALERTED PROVIDE MILITARY TRANSPORT IN EVENT SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM BASC OR OTHER ACTION MAKES COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS QUESTIONABLE. NOTES SHOULD BE SENT SOVIETS STATING THREE POWERS REFUSE ACCEPT UNILATERAL RENUNCIATION COMMITMENTS.

2. FUTURE DATE. NOTES SHOULD BE SENT SOVIETS AND INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT ACCESS BERLIN (AS IN ABOVE PARAGRAPH) GIVEN IN ADVANCE TO BECOME EFFECTIVE ON TRANSFER DATE.

IN ADDITION THERE MIGHT, DEPENDING UPON NATURE SOVIET COMMUNICATION TO US, BE ADVANTAGE IN DEMANDING IMMEDIATE FOUR-POWER MEETING TO DISCUSS SITUATION.

OBVIOUSLY, ANY COURSE OF ACTION DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN FREEDOM OF BERLIN WILL FINALLY DEPEND UPON OUR DETERMINATION, IF NECESSARY, TO USE FORCE.

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